

Message Text

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TO USMISSION NATO IMMEDIATE

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EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO

SUBJECT: NATO DECLARATION

REF: USNATO 3104

1. THERE FOLLOWS FURTHER GUIDANCE ON NATO DECLARATION, BASED ON DISCUSSION REPORTED REFTEL, THAT YOU SHOULD DRAW ON IN JUNE 6 NAC/SPC DISCUSSION AFTER CONSULTATION WITH UK DELEGATION:

PARA 1: YOU MAY AGREE TO REFORMULATION FOR FINAL SENTENCE PROPOSED BY DUTCH.

PARA 2: YOU MAY AGREE TO PARA 2, INCLUDING FIRST SENTENCE ACCEPTED BY FRANCE, AS IT APPEARS IN USNATO 3060.

PARA 3: YOU MAY AGREE TO END PENULTIMATE SENTENCE AT WORD "ALLIANCE." REGARDING FRENCH PROPOSAL FOR FINAL SENTENCE, WE STILL HAVE DIFFICULTY WITH "DOMINATION OF THE WORLD," AND YOU SHOULD SUGGEST AS AN AID TO DRAFTING
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THE FOLLOWING REFORMULATION: "SUCH AN ATTEMPT WOULD PUT

IN JEOPARDY THE SECURITY OF ALL MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE, AND THUS THREATEN THE FOUNDATIONS OF WORLD PEACE AND SECURITY."

PARA 4: YOU MAY ACCEPT PRESENT TEXT, WHICH WE UNDERSTAND INCLUDES AS PENULTIMATE SENTENCE, "CONSEQUENTLY, ALTHOUGH ALL THE COUNTRIES OF THE ALLIANCE REMAIN VULNERABLE TO ATTACK, THE NATURE OF THE DANGER TO WHICH THEY ARE EXPOSED HAS CHANGED."

PARA 5: YOU MAY ACCEPT PARA 5, WITH "BUT" CHANGED TO "HOWEVER."

PARA 6: YOU MAY JOIN A CONSENSUS THAT EMERGES REGARDING FRENCH FORMULATION REPORTED USNATO 3104. YOU MAY ALSO ACCEPT "EQUALLY" VICE "ALSO."

PARA 7: NO FURTHER GUIDANCE.

PARA 8: YOU MAY AGREE TO THE FOLLOWING FORMULATION: "IN THIS CONNECTION, THE MEMBER STATES OF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE AFFIRM THAT, AS THE ULTIMATE PURPOSE OF ANY DEFENSE POLICY IS TO DENY A POTENTIAL ADVERSARY FROM ATTAINING, THROUGH AN ARMED CONFLICT, THE OBJECTIVES HE SEEKS, ALL NECESSARY FORCES WOULD BE USED FOR THIS PURPOSE. THEREFORE, WHILE REAFFIRMING THAT A MAJOR AIM OF THEIR POLICIES IS TO SEEK AGREEMENTS THAT WILL REDUCE THE RISK OF WAR, THEY ALSO STATE THAT SUCH AGREEMENTS WILL NOT LIMIT THEIR FREEDOM TO USE ALL FORCES AT THEIR DISPOSAL FOR THE COMMON DEFENSE IN THE CASE OF ATTACK. INDEED, THEY ARE CONVINCED THAT THEIR DETERMINATION TO DO SO CONTINUES TO BE THE BEST ASSURANCE THAT WAR IN ALL ITS FORMS WILL BE PREVENTED." IN SUPPORT OF FOREGOING YOU MAY DRAW ON FOLLOWING:

(A) WE JOIN DUTCH AND CANADIANS IN VIEW THAT "ALL NECESSARY FORCES" IS PREFERABLE, SINCE IT AVOIDS IMPLICATION THAT ALL WEAPONS WOULD BE USED AT OUTSET OF CONFLICT. HOWEVER, IF NECESSARY TO ACHIEVE CONSENSUS YOU MAY ACCEPT FORMULATION "ALL THEIR FORCES WOULD, IF NECESSARY."

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BEGIN FYI ONLY. FOR YOUR BACKGROUND ONLY, PHRASE, "ALL FORCES, IF NECESSARY," HAS FOLLOWING LEGAL IMPLICATIONS, WHICH LEAD US TO PREFER TO AVOID IT, IF POSSIBLE: ARTICLE 5 OF THE TREATY OBLIGES THE US, IN THE EVENT OF ATTACK, TO TAKE ONLY SUCH ACTION AS IT DEEMS NECESSARY, WHICH ACTION CAN INCLUDE THE USE OF ARMED FORCE IN THE EVENT A POTENTIAL ADVERSARY STARTS A CONFLICT. ASIDE FROM THE QUESTION WHETHER IT IS REALISTIC FOR THE US

TO STATE THAT IT WILL USE ITS WORLDWIDE RESOURCES IN THE EVENT OF A CONFLICT IN EUROPE, THIS LANGUAGE RAISES A QUESTION WHETHER THE LEVEL OF THE US COMMITMENT TO NATO IS ALTERED BY A COMMITMENT TO USE ALL OUR FORCES, IF NECESSARY. PRESUMABLY, OUR RESPONSE TO ANY ARGUMENT

THAT OUR COMMITMENT IS INCREASED WOULD BE THAT WE ARE ONLY PLEDGED TO USE ALL OUR FORCES "IF NECESSARY" AND THAT THIS IS SIMPLY A MORE PARTICULAR STATEMENT OF WHAT THE US IS PREPARED TO DO IN THE DISCHARGE OF ITS OBLIGATIONS UNDER ARTICLE 5 OF THE TREATY, NAMELY TAKE THE ACTION IT DEEMS NECESSARY UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES. THE POTENTIAL DIFFICULTY WITH THIS EXPLANATION IS THAT THE DETERMINATION OF WHEN SUCH ACTION IS "NECESSARY" IS NOT CLEARLY LEFT UP TO EACH PARTY AS IT IS IN THE NATO TREATY. IF THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL OR THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF THE EC-NINE WERE TO RESOLVE THAT SOME FUTURE SET OF CIRCUMSTANCES MADE IT "NECESSARY" TO USE ARMED FORCE, A QUESTION COULD ARISE AS TO WHETHER THE US, AT THAT POINT, WOULD NOT BE OBLIGATED TO USE ALL ITS FORCES UNDER PARAGRAPH 8 OF THE NATO DRAFT. END FYI ONLY.

(B) YOU SHOULD SUPPORT FORMULATION "ALL FORCES AT THEIR DISPOSAL" OVER "ALL WEAPONS AT THEIR DISPOSAL," SINCE THIS REMOVES IN OUR VIEW ANY IMPLICATION THE ALLIES WERE NOT PREPARED TO HONOR AGREEMENTS PROHIBITING USE OF CERTAIN WEAPONS, I.E., BACTERIOLOGICAL.

PARA 9: WITH REGARD TO FIRST BRACKETED FORMULATION, YOU SHOULD DRAW ON PREVIOUS GUIDANCE. YOU SHOULD ALSO CONTINUE TO OPPOSE DELETION OF LAST TWO BRACKETED SENTENCES. WE WOULD PREFER TO RETAIN "DIRECTLY," IN SECRET

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FIRST BRACKETED SENTENCE, SINCE IT APPEARS IN PARA 15 OF HARMEL REPORT, BUT YOU MAY JOIN CONSENSUS ON THIS POINT. YOU MAY ACCEPT DE STAERCKE'S PROPOSED FORMULATION OF FINAL BRACKETED SENTENCE (USNATO 3104). IN CONNECTION WITH BELGIAN DRAFT OF PARA 11 (SEE BELOW), AS DE STAERCKE POINTED OUT, THIRD SENTENCE CONTAINS PHRASE, "RECOGNIZING THAT THEIR INTERESTS CAN BE DIRECTLY AFFECTED BY EVENTS IN OTHER AREAS OF THE WORLD," WHICH ECHOES BRACKETED PENULTIMATE SENTENCE OF PARA 9. WE HAVE NO OBJECTION TO BOTH FORMULATIONS APPEARING IN TEXT. HOWEVER, SHOULD ISSUE PERSIST OF DROPPING PENULTIMATE BRACKETED SENTENCE OF PARA 9 BECAUSE OF THIS PARALLEL, YOU MAY AGREE, AND COULD SUGGEST RE-PHRASING DE STAERCKE'S PROPOSAL FOR FINAL BRACKETED SENTENCE IN PARA 9 TO READ: "MOREOVER, THE CONTRIBU-

TIONS MADE BY MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE TO THE PRESERVATION OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND WORLD PEACE ARE RECOGNIZED TO BE OF GREAT IMPORTANCE."

PARA 10: YOU MAY ACCEPT TURKISH PROPOSED REVISION.

PARA 11: YOU MAY ACCEPT BELGIAN TEXT (VERSION NUMBER 2,

USNATO 3060), AS WELL AS REVISED FIRST SENTENCE PROPOSED BY DE ROSE (USNATO 3104). WITH REGARD TO ISSUE OF "IN APPROPRIATE BODIES," YOU SHOULD MAINTAIN A LOW PROFILE AND LEAVE IT TO THE FRENCH TO DEAL WITH THE ITALIANS.

PARA 12: YOU MAY AGREE TO FORMULATION, "THEIR INTENTION TO DEVELOP AND DEEPEN THE APPLICATION OF THESE PRINCIPLES IN THEIR COUNTRIES." WE CONCUR ALSO IN REFORMULATION OF LAST SENTENCE (USNATO 3104).

PARA 13 AND 14: NO FURTHER GUIDANCE.

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